portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Cururú River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururú River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mq
177
Sq4
621

The culmination of the long acculturative processes shows a high degree of structural parallelism. Both Mundurucú and Montagnais populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still recreate, associate, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common denominator of the national culture or even of the regional sub-cultures of their non-Indian neighbors.

Mo
Mq
177
184

There is a final phase, which, though occurring at different dates in the different localities, is characterized by assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system and virtual loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relation with the national society, they are quite unlike the basic populations of the nations in which they lived and much more like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the special regional sub-cultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

It can be predicted that the drastic shift in mode and level of integration will do much to hasten the loss of cultural distinctiveness. Fortes has cogently expressed the relationship between social structure and formal culture content in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure is the foundation of the whole social life of any continuing society.....The social structure of a group does not exist without the customary norms and activities which work through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding custom, and where custom survives there must be some structural basis for this" [Fortes 1949, pp. 22-23].

V. Further Comparisons

Mo
Mq
171
177
121

We can delimit and refine the Mundurucú-Algonkian parallel by the cross-cultural examination of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which divergence appears manifest. One instance of such apparent divergence is the Northwest Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or intensified rather than weakened the aboriginal social structure. The florescence of the potlatch and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of new wealth in trade goods is a thesis which has been ably expounded by a number of students [cf. Barnett 1936; Drucker 1939; Collins 1950; Codere 1950]. It would be very misleading, however, to consider <u>any</u> trade in furs as the crucial factor. What really matters is <u>individual trapping of fur-bearing animals</u>. The sea otter was the principal fur bartered by most Northwest Coast tribes, and collection involved neither individual effort nor delimited territories. The amount of land trapping was probably fairly limited and in any event did not offset the cultural effects of the great salmon wealth which created surpluses rarely if ever paralleled by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The trapping activities of the Skagit of Puget Sound were nearly paralleled those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Collins description [1950, p. 335]:

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it.

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwelling house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence.

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's house. Despite the generational continuity of the females and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks.

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family.

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa-

sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. However, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú anticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of cooperation result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to cooperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The most important force in the process of stripping the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up 439
and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are 797
more frequent in September, October, and November 649
when rubber is still being collected and the river has be- [484]
gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets [529]
provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands [594]
and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[471] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

439 Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
461 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In contrast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well-weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

166 182 It does not require a particularly strong motive to induce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 602 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weakening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same [835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively [594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship [551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 621 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-

/23 cont./

*241
423
[171]

harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it, it may be used by anyone." /Cited in English/ (Wagley and Galvão, 1949: 50).

exists, therefore, a temporary property right, while /the plot/ is being used: a right that might more aptly be termed of usage or usufruct.

This concept is complemented by the other facet of the matter, involving the labors /expanded on/ and the products of the plot. Included here is the aggregate of the men's and women's tasks (in accordance with the cycles of labor); and the family, which in itself forms a small community, asserts its rights.

*241
421
462
594

The concept of this right to seemingly communal property derives from the division of labor between men and women. By individual right, each is the master and owner of what he produces, makes, etc. The man prepares the field, the clearing (kat), and is the owner of it. Strictly speaking, therefore, the woman plants on alien property (i.e., the man's or husband's) and pays him for the usufruct of this right, later on, with the produce of her planting. In other words: as indemnification for his preparation of the plot, the man or husband may share in the produce of her planting. On the other hand, the woman is the owner of the planting, and the man or husband cannot, according to the right of private property, enjoy the fruits of someone else's planting, even if it be his own wife's. He does, however, acquire a certain right to the planting, not of property but of usufruct, because his clearing labor made its existence possible. The woman thus has the obligation to allow her husband the usufruct of her planting, within the framework of the division of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with reciprocal rights (or, inversely, duties) which are normalized and counterbalanced by the right of "indemnification." Indeed, in terms of the division of labor, this right of indemnification is absolutely necessary. What would the man do with the plot since he cannot plant, this being the woman's

/23 cont./

*241 421 462 594 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 476 [423] Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

*241 476 421 [178]

13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Mundurukú, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Mundurukú of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Dekudyem. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Mundurukú was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

/25 cont./

241 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is in-
476 volved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard-
[594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the
[423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú?
[621] Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the system of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been
[347] dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal
[423] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties
[476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

241 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among
177 the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according
182 to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual
462 cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They
476 have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

241 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could
602 be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only
421 among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)